1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

A man catches his *kaiuma* bait in the morning. Besides his fishing gear and two or three coconuts for his day's lunch, he takes with him coconut-leaf mats (*pola lauvia*) which provide protection from sun and rain and serve as sails. A mat leaning against the fisherman's back while he waits for a bite is easily thrown aside when strenuous activity is required to haul up the fish on the line before the sharks can take the fish from the hook. When the canoe is lodged to the reef and there is only a gentle breeze blowing offshore, a mat sail is used to prevent drifting onto the reef, thus obviating the necessity of paddling out from the reef again and again. A big sail in a fishing canoe would be cumbersome and would catch too much wind. A mat standing up in the canoe, with vertical midrib base and light guys running to outrigger booms providing support, gives sufficient belly to catch the wind and keep the canoe off the reef without dragging anchor.

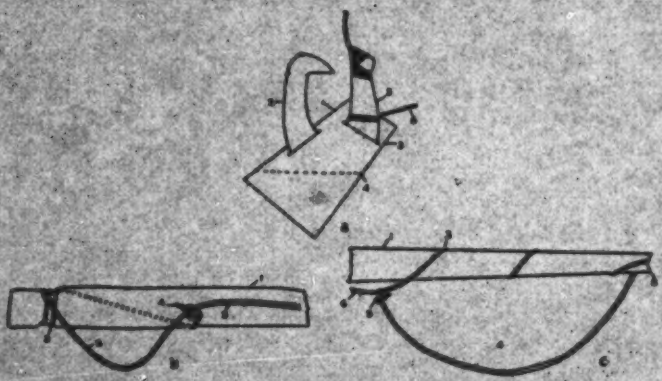

FIGURE 4.—Implements for fishing and bird snaring. *a*, fishhook with bait attached: any dead fish bait (*manava mate*) is attached to old style hook by removing head from bait fish and stripping off fillet (1), excluding backbone from belly backward so that flesh remains whole; hook (2) thrust through tail end (3) of fillet from flesh side, back through head end of fillet from skin side; fillet folded (4) along hook (dotted line), flesh side outward, skin side inward, and tail end of fillet lashed to shank (5) of hook, near shank knob, by transverse turns of bait string (6), fastened with half hitches. *b*, bird noose (*yale manava*): pole (1) about 12 feet long, 2 inches in diameter; noose (2) two-ply twisted sennit; one end of sennit passed transversely around notch end of pole (3), then down underneath two transverse turns; short free end (4) tied in square knot on bight; running end (5) passes down pole to bird catcher's hands at proximal end. *c*, fish noose (*kawycle*) (CB152): wooden support (1) of *puapua* wood about 6 feet long, ½ inch in diameter at proximal end, ¾ inch in diameter at distal end which is notched (2); noose cord (3) of strong, three-ply twisted sinn, wound around support, passed over notch (2) to form noose (4); free end knotted on bight (5) and cord (6) passes to proximal end of support.

Tuku manava fishing from a stationary canoe outside the reef with dead bait differs in two respects from both *lala* and *tauala* fishing: *tuku manava* fishing is deep-sea hand-line fishing up to about 300 fathoms and involves

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

245 In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pauaga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*makomako*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yakili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka matempale*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ma te kayasi*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayasi*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of coconut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

[412]

245 A heap of *yakali* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putunga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

264 The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*taka*) with a coconut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalekale* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*mulimuli*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*wawa*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*wakawakaka*) with a scraper (*kalekale*).

TALO

244 The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka:
137 *mawalawala, makawotu, makawa, kele, ponji* (slow-growing species), *peleua,*
177 *talaki, halelea, nawaniawa* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi.* All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

244 The origin of talo and *pulaka* in the world is recounted in the story of
773 Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalisation perhaps
244 of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow
423 one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*toi*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotonga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotonga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotonga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

252 462 lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *wale iuna* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

262. Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten 261 every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on 758 their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods 252 of eating and preparing are:

262 1. The sweet husk of the *mamalo* is chewed (*ngamngam*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *sukosuko* is baked (*sukosuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*suko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *nuata* and *hatikati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu nuata tao* and *niu hatikati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu hakokalo* from the *niu nuata*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *hakokalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*pure*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu nuata* is also made *ipu niu hakokalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu nuata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu nuata tunu*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

[543]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[521] 574 264 At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto, takataka* nuts, *ipiipi* and *mukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mauru* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vene*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukituki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kai*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *pusi*, sometimes given as *oni*. Talo preparations are:

1. *Lolo.* Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*wawao ki loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lolo*) is baked in the *umu* for 1 or 2 hours.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*) was caught with the rat trap (*uaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ua*), punishable by the goddess Tana (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *ipiipi* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

The words *kai, taumaanaya, yamayamu, lamulamu* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children all sit on coconut-leaf (*tukapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*uakalaulau*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yangia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

264
578 Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

556
888 Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there
626 is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and
476 relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of
181 the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each
552 person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the
434 semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

433 The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social
182 structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Tuna. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waleton (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kawa* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *mui taina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamanga and Yayi, were together the *muli kawa* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kawa* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.